

QUARTERLY REPORT



October, 1953

Building a Science of Human Behavior

ONE of man's most challenging intellectual frontiers is the scientific study of human behavior. How human beings interact with other human beings—if these matters can be studied, verified and brought into an orderly system of knowledge, they are of almost limitless importance in our tension-ridden, bomb-threatened world of today.

Such considerations were in the minds of Professor Samuel A. Stouffer and his colleagues when they opened the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard University in 1946. From the outset they have kept their attention centered on fundamental research. In this they have been helped by grants from Carnegie Corporation and other sources that have shared their sense of the importance of adding to basic knowledge.

The Laboratory of Social Relations was established as the research arm of the Department of Social Relations, which is the administrative unit at Harvard for all work done in sociology, social anthropology, clinical and social psychology. The Laboratory operates independently of the Department but maintains close liaison with it, through joint staff appointments.

Currently some fifty or more research projects are going forward at the Laboratory. They range from long-term, organized studies in the field to preliminary testing of tentative hypotheses or "hunches" by individual staff members. Collectively, they illustrate the extremely varied kinds of work—by many scientists at many universities and research centers—needed to build up a tested and comprehensive science of human behavior.

Members of the group at the Laboratory of Social Relations refuse to heed the cries of critics and skeptics who clamor for immediate, practical results. Paradoxically, the scientists sometimes confound their critics when their "pure" research turns up results of clear practicality and importance.

Take the studies in small group behavior now being conducted by Dr. R. F. Bales as an example. Bales has studied, noted and analyzed hundreds of small committee meetings. His findings may cause some of us to change pretty sharply our notion of what constitutes the "good leader" in such a group.

Much of Bales' evidence seems to say that what a small, continuing committee needs is not

one but two leaders. His findings indicate that the person who is judged by the group members to have the "best ideas" contributing to the group's decisions is *not* the "best liked."

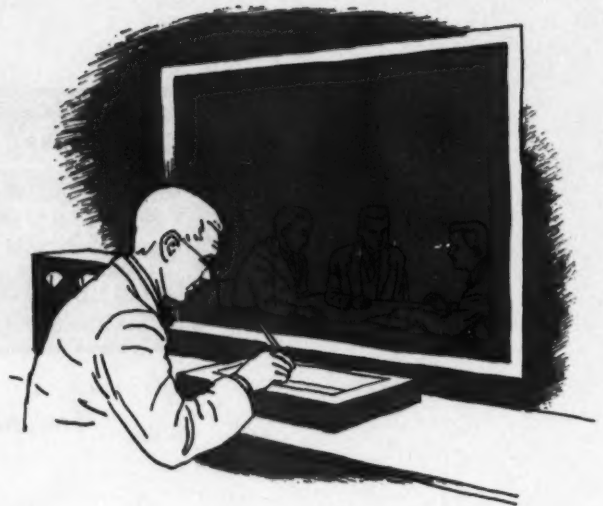
If a person comes into a leadership position because he is popular or best liked, he tends to be confronted with a choice: (1) if he chooses to try to keep the leadership of the group, he tends to lose some of his popularity and to collect some dislikes; (2) if he chooses to keep his popularity, he tends to lose the task-leadership.

Bales finds that apparently few persons can hold both roles; instead the tendency is for these positions to be held by two different persons. Each is in reality a leader, and each is important to the stability of the group. The "task-leader" helps to keep the group engaged in its work, but the pressure of decision and work tends to provoke irritation and injure the unity of the group. The "best liked" person helps to restore their unity and to keep the members of the group happy. These two complement each other, and both are necessary for smooth operation.

It seems especially important for these leaders to recognize each other's roles and in effect to form a coalition. The most stable groups observed by Bales were those in which this had taken place. There are indications that such durable groups as boys' gangs are constructed this way, and apparently the same process goes on in many administrative staffs, sometimes consciously, sometimes accidentally and unknowingly.

"When you think of the countless American man-hours spent in committee meetings," says Professor Stouffer, Director of the Laboratory since its inception, "the implications of such findings as those of Bales are clear. Research of this type can be of great aid to management teams, labor groups, citizens groups everywhere that rely on committees to reach decisions and get things done."

Headquarters of the Laboratory of Social Relations are in Harvard's Emerson Hall, which has a specially designed room for observing small



groups in action. The room is wired for sound so that all conversation can be heard and also recorded for later analysis. The room is equipped with one-way mirrors so that a group feels no self-consciousness about being observed. Several hundred committee meetings—ranging in size from two to eight members—have been studied and analyzed. Staff members have established twelve categories that cover virtually every type of remark made in a meeting. They have also worked out ingenious mechanisms for classifying and scoring remarks as they are uttered.

Rooms with similar equipment and observation facilities (see drawing) have been duplicated six or seven times elsewhere in the country. A management consultant in Toronto is building one for his own use in personnel testing and assessment. The Air Force has built a room at Maxwell Field, Alabama, for testing and predicting leadership ability. Other divisions of the armed services are also engaged in duplicating the room, for one of the most pressing problems they face is the development of leaders and selection of personnel who have to work in small groups—bomber and submarine crews, intelligence centers—where swift and right decisions often must be made in the heat of battle.

Stouffer and his associates at the Laboratory see their task as two-fold: first, to carry on research itself; and second, to provide research training for future social scientists. The training function is especially important: the demand for qualified social scientists seems to grow each year. The Laboratory group includes such well-established social scientists as Gordon W. Allport, Jerome S. Bruner, Stanley C. Estes, Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn, Frederick Mosteller, Talcott Parsons, L. J. Postman, Richard L. Solomon, Robert W. White and others of equal standing.

One value of studies at the Laboratory is to shed light on ways to strengthen and maintain a sound democracy. As an example, one might take a study of social mobility—the process by which members of a given social class move up or down on the ladder of success. The Laboratory is studying the case histories of four thousand New England boys, looking intensively into their families, neighborhoods, play groups and schools. As Professor Stouffer says, “In a democracy it is important that people with talent have the chance to use it and are encouraged to use it. By understanding how and where ‘non-ambitious’ boys got off the track, we eventually may be able to help schools and communities reduce this wastage of human talent.”

Again, in a study of prejudice—one of the toughest problems in a democracy—the Laboratory is trying to learn more about the psychological roots of the matter. One study shows that insecure, anxious children tend to be more prejudiced than well-adjusted ones. This relationship between insecurity and prejudice seems equally prominent in adults. With more accurate understanding of the nature and causes of racial, religious and other forms of prejudice, society will be in a better position to attempt programs of improvement.

Physical facilities of the Laboratory include—in two separate buildings—a fully equipped psychological clinic which has a modern psychodramatic theater. The Laboratory also maintains a field station in New Mexico where Professor

Clyde Kluckhohn and others are carrying on an extended research program in social anthropology.

Carnegie Corporation has contributed to the work of the Laboratory from the beginning and has made grants totalling \$275,000 including present commitments running to 1955. This constitutes about eighteen per cent of the Laboratory's total budget. The major share of the budget—nearly half of the total—comes from Harvard University itself. Grants from other foundations, notably the Rockefeller, Ford and Russell Sage Foundations, make up the rest (see graph).

Several Laboratory projects, financed in their exploratory stages by Carnegie Corporation funds, have been taken up and extended with funds from other sources.



Professor Stouffer refers to the continuing Carnegie Corporation grant as “seed money.” He says, “One highly valuable aspect of the grant is that it carries no restrictions, except that it cannot be used to pay major salaries or purchase major items of equipment.

“The freedom of the grant enables the Laboratory to take gambles—small, calculated risks with initial ideas which may not pay off. This aspect is important if new and creative ideas are to have a tryout. The Laboratory, betting on its people, has been willing to take some long chances. Some of these have failed, but others have paid off rather brilliantly.”

The Life of a Grant

MANY Carnegie Corporation grants go to support projects that reach their formal completion with a publication—book, report, or pamphlet—setting forth results achieved. These publications are not terminal points but starting points: they are a means of telling broader audiences of new facts, new methods and new ideas investigated with the help of foundation funds.

Three recent publications, resulting in part from Corporation-sponsored projects, serve to illustrate this. The scientist, the diplomat, the librarian have done their work and their reports, noted on these pages, are now living funds of knowledge for others.

"The Incompatible Allies"

A look at the other side of the curtain while some of the crucial history of our times was being made is offered by a new book financed in part by a Carnegie Corporation grant.

The book is *The Incompatible Allies* by Gustav Hilger. In the years between the two world wars, Hilger was a senior member of the German Embassy at Moscow. He observed at first hand the Rapallo days, Litvinov's "collective security" crusade and the German-Russian non-aggression pact of August, 1939. His book is a memoir-history of all these important years.

Hilger's account has much of the warmth and immediacy of a personal memoir, plus the range and authority that comes from having a political scientist, Dr. Alfred G. Meyer of Harvard University, as a collaborator.

One especially interesting section of the book deals with the thirties, when Russia and Germany were ideological foes in the world's eyes. Litvinov, from the League of Nations rostrum, called for "collective security" as the one hope against fascism. But throughout these years, Hilger maintains, "the possibility of an alternative to the policy of collective security was never quite absent [in Russian circles], even though conditions for it became ripe only in 1939."

The non-aggression pact of 1939 struck the West as a classic about-face. From Hilger's desk in the German Embassy, it seemed otherwise. Indications of a major shift in policy came in 1938 when the German Embassy and the Foreign Commissariat agreed that the press and radio in each country should restrain attacks on the other country.

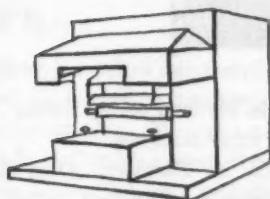
Even the purges of 1936-38 were straws in the wind. Many former diplomats were among the victims. Hilger states that, in the light of the non-aggression pact, "... the great purges can be regarded as a necessary preparation for the German-Soviet alliance. For only a Communist party purged of the Bukharins, Kretinskys, Radeks, and so forth, could tolerate the treaty signed by Molotov and Von Ribbentrop in August, 1939."

A rift between the German career diplomats and Hitler appeared soon after the signing of the pact. The Embassy staff took it as a *bona fide* diplomatic act, but they had increasing cause to question Hitler's good faith. In April, 1941, the Ambassador tried to discover if Hitler planned war and to warn him of the dangers in a campaign against Russia. Hitler's last comment was: "Oh, one more thing: I do not plan war against Russia." The Ambassador was convinced he was deliberately lying.

Events proved he had. On June 22, the Germans attacked. Hilger found high-placed and ordinary Russians totally unprepared. Molotov said: "Surely we have not deserved this." Others, Hilger reports, "could not ... explain the German attack, after the Soviet government had asserted to the last that the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union continued to be friendly. ... The lack of the slightest psychological preparation of the Russian people ... was one of the reasons for the lack of fighting spirit shown ... in the first stages of the war."

Hilger, currently living in the United States, was in Germany until the war's end. *The Incompatible Allies* will be published by the Macmillan Company in the early part of November.





The Photoclerk

Eleven libraries saved \$36,000 in one year in a test of new photoclerical procedures. Other libraries may realize the same kind of savings as a result of this experiment. Here is the story behind it:

Ralph R. Shaw, librarian of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, developed a new office aid, the Photoclerk. The machine eliminates time-consuming hand copying and its operation requires no special training. It had been tested and proved effective in the Department of Agriculture. What remained to be tested was its applicability to other libraries—the small college library and the large public one.

The experiment went into operation with a \$20,000 Carnegie grant paying for the equipment and the co-operating libraries contributing time and labor. In a year's time, these eleven libraries had a joint net saving of \$36,000; and much of this will continue indefinitely as an annual saving.

In a new pamphlet, *The Use of Photography for Clerical Routines*, Mr. Shaw gives the history of the experiment—from initial frustrations with quirks in the new machinery to the heartening conclusion: "In no case within the range of the experiment did we find any type or size of library in which the Photoclerk could not be advantageously employed."

A good example of the machine's economy comes from the reproduction of 3 x 5 cards. Average typing costs are cut by fifty per cent; and in the case of languages using non-Roman alphabets, the savings rise to ninety-five per cent.

Not only were routine tasks dispatched more quickly with the new procedures, but improvements in library management resulted as well. As one librarian put it: "The existence of the machine provided a concrete basis from which to scrutinize [all] operations."

Copies of Mr. Shaw's booklet may be obtained from the American Council of Learned Societies, 1219 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., which administered the Corporation grant. The charge per copy is one dollar.



Food from Water Plants

Can microscopic water plants be a source of almost limitless quantities of human food?

This question has engaged the interest of some of our ablest scientists. An authoritative roundup of current research is presented in a new publication, *Algal Culture: From Laboratory to*

Pilot Plant, issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Chlorella is the name of the strain of algae used in the experiments reported by the Carnegie Institution. It is rich in protein and highly efficient in its use of solar energy. Its taste has been likened to that of raw lima beans or raw pumpkin.

The idea of using algae as food is an old one. The Japanese for centuries have considered certain seaweeds as delicacies, and along the New England coast, Irish moss is harvested commercially for use in puddings and other food products.

A pilot plant operation, financed by the Institution and Carnegie Corporation and conducted by Arthur D. Little, Inc. in Cambridge, Massachusetts, showed that large-scale culture of algae is technically feasible. Calculations suggest a yearly yield of 17½ tons an acre as a reasonable expectation.

The monograph, designed to make available recent findings in the field of algal culture to scientists and organizations interested in the subject, may be obtained from the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1530 P Street, N.W., Washington 5, D.C. The charge is \$1.25 per copy.

Financial Summary

PRELIMINARY CALCULATIONS show that the income of Carnegie Corporation for the fiscal year ended September 30, 1953 was \$7,689,000. Administrative expenses were \$473,000, and \$2,312,000 was set aside to meet commitments, including those for teachers' pensions, incurred in prior years. The balance of \$4,904,000 was nearly equal to the \$4,987,000 appropriated for various grants.

Appropriations in the final quarter of the 1953 fiscal year, included in the year's total of \$4,987,000, were \$450,000. It is the policy of the Corporation to spend all its income in the fiscal year in which it is received.

PERSONS & PLACES

Commonwealth Conference

How can exchange of ideas and experience be encouraged among academic leaders in British Commonwealth countries and colonial territories? This was one of the key questions raised at the Seventh Quinquennial Congress of the Universities of the Commonwealth held at Cambridge, England, last July.

The conference itself was a step toward answering that question. The meeting brought together heads from over one hundred educational institutions in the Commonwealth for discussion of vital issues of common concern. A grant from Carnegie Corporation helped to pay travel expenses of the delegates.

Stephen H. Stackpole, executive assistant for the Carnegie Corporation program in the British Dominions and Colonies, was one of several American representatives at the meeting. He reports that the conference discussions included controversial issues, such as government aid to education, as well as specific problems of teaching and the general concern for maintaining the traditional values of liberal education while meeting the demands imposed by expanding technologies. Increasing the exchange of academic personnel was of primary interest to the Commonwealth delegates.

Mr. Stackpole found the universities represented at the conference as varied as their positions on the globe. On the surface there seems to be little in common between historic Oxford and the four-year-old New South Wales Institute of Technology, or between the University of London and the University College of the West Indies. Yet, with all their differences, these institutions belong to the same tradition and share the same task: promoting a balanced development of higher educa-

tion in all parts of the Commonwealth. Opportunities for faculty and administrators to visit one another's institutions and to attend conferences help to strengthen the feeling of unity and common heritage.

A substantial part of the Carnegie Corporation's program in the British Dominions and Colonies has been the awarding of travel grants to educators for travel and study outside their own countries. Mr. Stackpole found the delegates in favor of exchange programs of this sort and interested in extending them in other ways through other resources: by visiting professorships, by teaching and research fellowships, by sisterhood relations between institutions with common interests. A representative from a South Asian country stressed the fact that, among other things, such mobility is an effective way of assisting underdeveloped parts of the Commonwealth to higher educational performance.

Mr. Stackpole found that the American representatives also spoke of the benefits to be derived from travel. A grant made by the Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation enabled ten presidents of American universities to attend the conference. Both at the Cambridge meetings and at home, the American educators expressed their conviction that the experience was a rewarding one; it provided an opportunity, not only to observe trends in British education, but to see problems in American education in a new and broader perspective.

Carnegie Hero Fund Commission

Andrew Carnegie established the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission in this country in 1904 to recognize and reward heroic acts performed in every-

day life. He later set up similar funds in ten other countries.

Since its founding, 3,835 heroic Americans have received medals, cash awards or pensions from the Commission. Persons who have saved others from death by drowning or fire received the majority of awards last year. An unusual case was the hero who rescued a man from a tiger that had escaped from a private zoo.

The Commission's headquarters is in the Oliver Building, Pittsburgh. Its president is Dr. Thomas S. Arbuthnot. It is one of six Carnegie agencies in the United States. Each functions independently of the other organizations.

THE CORPORATION TRUSTEES

Arthur W. Page

Arthur W. Page, a trustee of the Corporation since 1934, was born in Aberdeen, North Carolina and was graduated from Harvard College. He is the son of the late Walter Hines Page, ambassador to Great Britain under President Wilson. A business consultant, Mr. Page was formerly a vice president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Mr. Page has been a member of the Corporation's Finance Committee since 1934 and its chairman since 1946. He is also a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the Educational and Development Fund of the Farmers Federation, Asheville, North Carolina; Teachers College of Columbia University; and an overseer of Harvard College.

He serves as a director of the Long Island Biological Association, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Chase National Bank, Continental Oil Company, Westinghouse Electric Corporation, Kennecott Copper Corporation and the Prudential Insurance Company.

Staff News

Eugene I. Burdock has recently been named an Executive Assistant of the Corporation. Mr. Burdock received the A.B. and A.M. degrees from Columbia University and recently finished work on his Ph.D. in psychology at the University of California at Los

Angeles. He has taught at Brooklyn College, at the Army Information and Education Staff School in Europe, and has done research in psychometrics at the University of Illinois.

Alan Pifer has been appointed assistant in the British Dominions and Colonies program. A graduate of Harvard, Mr. Pifer studied at Cambridge,

and for five years before his appointment served as Secretary of the U. S. Educational Commission in the United Kingdom, administering the Fulbright program there.

In recent staff promotions, James W. Campbell was named Assistant Treasurer and Mrs. Alice S. Hctor an Administrative Assistant.

NEW GRANTS

Social Science Research Council

The Social Science Research Council has been voted a grant of \$200,000 toward its administrative expenses by Carnegie Corporation.

A nonprofit organization set up in 1923, the Council is devoted to the advancement of research in the social sciences. Its members are anthropologists, economists, historians, psychologists, political scientists, sociologists, statisticians and representatives of related fields who bring their various specialties to bear on common problems.

Through special committees, the Council has played an active role in defining new areas of research. Occasionally the committees themselves support or conduct research projects. The Committee on Political Behavior, which sponsors work being done at the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center on the 1952 presidential elections, has received an additional Corporation grant of \$12,000.

Awarding fellowships is an important part of the Council's work. Since its inception it has made more than two thousand grants. A recent program, financed by the Carnegie Corporation, was designed to increase this country's supply of experts on foreign countries; in six years 221 persons received grants for specialized training on major world areas.

The Council has its main office in New York and a branch in Washington, D. C. Carnegie Corporation joins with others, notably the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, in contributing to the Council's support.



Economic Development of Africa

The African continent, especially the portion lying south of the Sahara, is one of the great underdeveloped regions of the world. Understanding of the historical causes of Africa's present position is a logical prelude to proposals for advancement.

The staff at the Food Research Institute of Stanford University believes that much of the work on development has given too little attention to historical economic trends. Under a \$150,000 Corporation grant, they plan to look intently at the past as well as at the present.

The Institute will conduct intensive comparative studies of internal and external trade, transportation, agricultural production and food consumption, natural and human resources in Africa. They will attempt to discover why some of the colonies and independent states lead and others lag in economic development.

The program, which will be conducted over a five-year period, will try to analyze the major obstacles to de-

velopment and to formulate realistic ways of stimulating advance.

The project will be directed by Merrill K. Bennett. Staff members are S. D. Neumark, formerly of the University of the Witwatersrand, and W. O. Jones.

Since its founding in 1921, the Institute has received grants totaling \$1,454,000 from the Corporation. Its research has been consistently useful to food industries, Government agencies and students of economics.



Public Administration

Case studies of important decisions in public policy are being used by an increasing number of colleges and universities as a tool in teaching public administration.

The Inter-University Case Program is largely responsible for the widespread adoption of this fresh approach, which gives students a detailed insight into the many elements that make up official decisions. The Program is a collaborative venture carried on by political scientists in forty-five colleges and universities. The first published contribution of the program was a casebook, *Public Administration and Policy Development*, edited by Harold Stein.

Carnegie Corporation has helped this project since its start in 1949. A new grant of \$75,000 has been made to Syracuse University, fiscal agent of the Inter-University Case Program.

Training for an Enlightened Police Force

An Interview with David A. McCandless

HOW do you make a good policeman? Hand him a uniform and a nightstick and tell him to go to work? Actually, most cities have training courses—some of them quite elaborate—but authorities agree there is still much room for improvement.

Almost five years ago, two men exchanged ideas on this subject and decided to do something about it in the South. They were David A. McCandless, then Director of Public Safety at Louisville, Kentucky, and Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, Chairman of the Illinois Division of Correction and a consultant in police training. Over a luncheon table, they discussed the need for better training of police in the laws they are called upon to enforce. Both agreed that poor policing serves as a barb in community relations—especially in a community with a significant minority group population. They felt that education is the surest way to realize higher standards of policing. A sensible idea might be to start a training school for policemen in service.

Today, Mr. McCandless, a soft-spoken Southerner of the "new" school, is director of the embodiment of that idea—the Southern Police Institute at the University of Louisville. The Institute goes into its fourth season this fall, training selected police officers in the social aspects of police work as well as modern methods of crime detection and law enforcement. It is financed by Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Duke Foundation and the City and University of Louisville.

In a recent interview, Mr. McCandless explained the Institute's program and the philosophy behind it. "We put

emphasis on the 'two P's'—procedure and professionalism," he said. "Too often police are untrained in fundamental legal procedure. They may ignore basic rules when looking for evidence or making arrests. Race relations are irritated by poor police work, not only in the South but throughout the country."

Taking this into account, the Institute gives the men a thorough grounding in the law they are enforcing. Emphasis is placed on the Bill of Rights, due process, search and seizure, and the necessity for fair and impartial treatment for all under the law.

The trainee is made to realize that he himself is a member of an occupational minority group, hedged in by misconceptions (the "dumb cop" who spends his time filching bananas from the corner fruit stand) and derogatory names ("flatfoot," "copper"). Then the instructors move into solid facts on: "The Background of Racial, National and Religious Tensions," "Social Situations in Which Tensions Arise," and "The Role of the Police in Dealing with Tensions."

Will there be a long lag before what is taught as theory becomes actual practice? Mr. McCandless thinks not. "Conformity with legal concepts and procedures is bringing in day-by-day results all over the South. The benefits of training persist, especially when students have a chance to pass on to others the knowledge they've gained. Of our 187 graduates, fifty-seven are now in training positions in their home departments."

The idea of professional training is spreading. Mr. McCandless reports that the Southern Police Institute recently helped the University of Tennessee and the Junior Chamber of Commerce in Florida in their efforts to set up police training courses. And four-year courses in Police Science and Administration have been started at the University of Kentucky and Louisiana State University.

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